

# The Principia.

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## The Principia

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### PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound morals  
Christian reforms; the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the rum-traffic, and  
kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, du-  
ties, business arrangements, and aims of life;—to the individual, the family,  
the Church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to  
God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering Society the  
type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine law;  
our expediency, obedience; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine prom-  
ises; our panoply, the whole armor of God.

Our Editors friendly, please copy, or notice.

### THE BIBLE ABOLITIONIST.

Containing the testimony of the Scriptures against Slavery, and the Scriptu-  
ral method of treating it.

"To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this  
word, it is because there is no light in them." Isa. viii. 20. "All Scripture is  
given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for correction, for  
instruction in righteousness. That the man of God might be perfect, thor-  
oughly furnished unto all good works." 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

Part III.—Slaveholding brought directly to the test of the  
Bible.

#### CHAPTER XIII.

[Same Subject Continued.]

REMARKS ON THE PRECEDING.—PROMINENCE GIVEN, IN  
THE SCRIPTURES, TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE EGYPT-  
IANS, AND THE EMANCIPATION OF THE HEBREWS.

What has been said of the oppression of the Hebrews in  
Egypt, might, for the most part, be said over again, in re-  
spect to all the oppressions of which we read in the Scriptures,  
particularly in the Old Testament. Oppression, in all the  
ancient nations, was of a far lighter type than that of Am-  
erican slavery, because, until the times of the Romans, it  
did not involve the idea of human chattelhood, nor include  
the things which, in our day, we find to grow out of that  
idea. And even among the Romans, the conditions of sla-  
very were less intolerable than among us, especially as the  
slave had the power and right of self-redemption, and a  
large portion of them remained slaves only a few years.  
They were chiefly captives taken in war, and Cicero says  
that "sober and industrious slaves, at least, such as become  
slaves from being captives in war, seldom remained in ser-  
vitude above six years." [Adams' Roman Antiquities, p.  
26.] Persons sold into slavery could not be sold a second  
time, without becoming free.—Ib. p. 35. There was, there-  
fore, no slave trade in Roman slavery.

All the servitude and oppression mentioned in the Old  
Testament, was of a still milder character, not involving  
the chattel principle at all—the idea of absolute proprietor-  
ship in man. Some of the weaker races may have been  
oppressed by the stronger, as in the case of the Hebrews  
in Egypt. In other cases, the people of a country, general-  
ly, may have been oppressed by exorbitant exactions of  
their princes. One nation was sometimes oppressed by an-  
other. And in all countries there were oppressions of the  
poor by the rich, on whom they were dependent, as being  
debtors, unable to pay, and therefore held in servitude for  
the collection of the debt. Others were employed as la-  
borers, and either compelled to labor for scanty wages, on  
the principle now pleaded for, in justification of the low  
prices of the labor of females and others, that the price of  
labor must be regulated by "the law of supply and demand,"  
or else were defrauded in the payment, either wholly or in  
part, as is often done, now. There are many ways in which

the poor may be oppressed, but there is no form or degree  
of oppression that, for severity, rigor, and insecurity, can  
compare with modern chattel slavery. And of all modern  
slavery, that of the United States of America, is notorious-  
ly, the most intolerable—both in theory and practice—"the  
vildest that ever saw the sun."

It is important to bear in mind these undeniable facts, in  
order to receive from the Scriptures, especially from those  
of the Old Testament, any adequate conception of the depth  
and intensity of God's hatred of oppression—even the light-  
er oppressions of those ancient times. And this is necessa-  
ry, in order that we may realize in the comparison—or  
rather, in the contrast,—the depth and the intensity of God's  
hatred of American slavery, and slaveholding,—there be-  
ing nothing of the kind equal to it, on the face of the  
earth.

If any one thinks this extravagant, let him test it by the  
Golden Rule. Let him acquaint himself with all the facts,  
ancient and modern. Then let him consider whether he  
can specify any form of oppression which he would not pre-  
fer, as a choice of evils, rather than take the position of the  
American slave.† If we are to test slavery and slavehold-  
ing by the Bible, we must not forget to recur, at every step,  
to the great Bible rule, of placing ourselves in the condi-  
tion of those upon whose case we would pass judgment,  
—the rule of loving our neighbors as ourselves. When all  
professed christians will do this, we shall hear of no dif-  
ferences of opinion among them, respecting the character  
of slavery and slaveholding.

#### IMPORTANCE OF THE STORY OF EGYPT.

We have placed the story of the oppression of the He-  
brews in Egypt, in the same front ground of our illustra-  
tions, which it occupies in the Scriptures, and in the Provi-  
dential Government of God, over the nations. It was by  
His retributive treatment of the Egyptians, the first of the  
great civilized nations of antiquity, and at that early period

\* Wesley.

† Dr. Hopkins.

‡ In the Spanish, French, and Portuguese Colonies, the Chattel  
principle is but imperfectly applied, and essential modifications  
are admitted. By the Code Noir, Art. 47, the sales of the husband,  
without the wife, the wife without the husband, children without  
parents, and parents without children, are strictly forbidden, and if  
the master sell the one without the other, the purchaser can claim  
and take all the others without any additional price, so that the  
separation of families is effectually prevented. [Stroud's Sketch,  
p. 61.—Stephen's Slavery, pp. 69, 70. Annals de Martinique, tome  
I, p. 265. Amer. Slave Code, pp. 44-5, 68, 75.] So that slavery  
in Louisiana and Florida, before their annexation to the United  
States, was comparatively mild. In Mahomedan countries sla-  
very is less severe than in Christian America, as will be seen from  
the following:

#### MAHOMMEDAN SLAVERY.

Rev. W. G. Schaffner, Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M., in Con-  
stantinople, in speaking of Slavery among the Mahomedans,  
makes the following statements respecting Manumission and Free-  
dom, some of which put to shame our so-called Christian nation.

1. Manumission is declared to be a good and pious work, by  
which sins are atoned for, and heaven earned, and Mahommed  
promises every one who manumits a Moslem slave, a particular re-  
ward in heaven.

2. A master's children by his female slave, are free.

3. The children of a slave woman, married to a free man with  
her master's consent, are free.

4. The slave who becomes leprous, is free.

5. A slave liberated by Providence is free: e. g., if a Moslem  
slave becomes the captive of an infidel owner, Islam law pronoun-  
ces him free. If afterwards he is returned, or returns to his coun-  
try, his former master cannot claim him. He is free.

6. An owner, giving in his will, freedom to any slave, puts him  
thereby, beyond the reach of the heir or heirs.

7. A Mahomedan wishing to liberate his slave, (as a good, meri-  
torious work, or from any other motive) but unable to lose the  
amount of his value, can make an arrangement with the slave,  
according to which the slave is to pay him a certain sum at  
a certain time or times.

8. A slave woman who has had a child by her owner, . . .  
although she is not free, still the right of her owner upon her has  
become a limited one. He can never sell her, nor oblige her to  
marry another man.

Should these regulations find a place on our Statute Books, they  
would be a deadly blow at some of the strongest roots of American  
Slavery.—Christian Press.

of the world's history—it was by the inspired records and  
celebrations of that event by the liberated Hebrews, and  
by the ever recurring allusions to it, throughout the Scrip-  
tures, that God designed to teach his chosen people, and  
through them all the nations of the earth, to the end of  
time, (for whose benefit he thus trained the Hebrews.) His  
own implacable hatred of oppression, even in the compara-  
tively milder forms in which it was then manifested, in or-  
der that the nations might take warning, and understand  
the principles upon which He would deal with them, if  
they permitted, within their national limits, the existence  
of oppression. The subsequent Scripture history and the  
prophecies are occupied, largely, with continued repetitions  
of the same warning. And the pages of universal history,  
are mainly occupied with illustrations and verifications of  
the same lesson, down to the present time. The chastise-  
ments and the final overthrow of oppressors, of oppressive  
rulers, of oppressive governments, of oppressive nations,—  
of nations tolerating oppression, or neglecting to put a stop  
to it, is the one great lesson of history, wherever and by  
whomsoever penned. The story of the Hebrews in Egypt,  
is but the first chapter of the world's political history, which  
is in process of being written, still. While the world  
stands, this story will stand, the first lesson,—the earliest,  
the most important,—in the science of civil government, of  
civil polity, of civil law, of civil liberty, of social responsi-  
bilities, in one word, of mutual protection against oppres-  
sion, and against tyrants. Without this first lesson, there  
is little or no reason to believe that the present inhabitants  
of the earth, would ever have heard of "inalienable human  
rights," or of Governments instituted to secure them.

This view receives confirmation in the songs of triumph  
heard among the Hebrews, on the shore of the Red Sea, and  
repeated, long afterwards, by their heaven inspired poets  
and seers.

"Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song  
unto the Lord, and spoke saying:"

"I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed glori-  
ously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the  
sea," &c. &c. (Ex. chap. xv.)

"And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a  
timbrel in her hand, and all the women went out after her  
with timbrels, and with dances. And Miriam answered  
them,—Sing ye to the Lord for he hath triumphed gloriously  
the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea." [Ib.  
ver. 20, -21.]

The reader will do well to turn to the chapter and read  
this song of Moses and of Miriam, entire. It will repay  
close study, and might well be treasured up in memory, to  
be recalled whenever there is occasion to feel deeply that  
the glory of God, the redemption of his people, and the se-  
curity of human beings on the earth, requires and necessi-  
tates the overthrow of oppressors and oppression, wherever  
they are found, and so long as the world stands.

Ages afterwards, the sweet Psalmist of Israel took up  
the strain, and sang praises "to him

"Who smote the first born of Egypt, both of man and  
beast. Who sent tokens and wonders into the midst of  
thee, O Egypt, and upon Pharaoh and all his servants." [Ps. cxxxv. 8-9]

And again, "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good,  
for his mercy endureth forever." \* \* \* \* "To him  
that stretched out the earth above the waters, for his mercy  
endureth forever. To him that made great lights, for his  
mercy endureth forever. The sun to rule by day, for his  
mercy endureth forever; the moon and stars to rule by  
night, for his mercy endureth forever. To him that smote  
Egypt in their first born, for his mercy endureth forever.  
And brought Israel out from among them, for his mercy  
endureth forever. With a strong hand and a stretched out  
arm, for his mercy endureth for ever. To him which di-  
vided the Red Sea into parts, for his mercy endureth for-  
ever. And made Israel to pass through the midst of it,  
for his mercy endureth forever. But overthrew Pharaoh

and his host in the Red Sea, for his mercy endureth forever. Ps. cxxxvi.

Thus, as taught by the Spirit of inspiration, did God's chosen people render to him their thanksgivings. The works of God in Creation and Providence, together with his terrible overthrow of oppressors, for the deliverance of their victims, were all grouped together in their enumeration of his mercies, and as subjects of their devout praises and thanksgivings! Let oppressors and their apologists and supporters hear this, and tremble. Especially let those tremble who, in a land of Bibles, containing these records, and professing to love and revere its teachings, are consenting to the continuance of oppressions, in the comparison with which the bondage of the children of Israel in Egypt might be hailed as a deliverance! Let those tremble who affect to believe that slavery is not inconsistent with the Bible, and that slaveholding is not sin. Especially, let those tremble, if their consciences are not seared, as with a hot iron, who can persist in doing this, in these United States, at a time when the judgments of God upon this nation for its tolerance of oppression are as distinctly visible and marked as were the plagues of Egypt, for lighter oppressions.

There are religionists as well as sceptics who object to the song of Moses and of Miriam, and to such specimens of the Psalms as have been cited. They object that such poetry breathes a revengeful spirit, inconsistent with the benevolence of God and the spirit of true religion. They fail to see, as they ought to see, that the benevolence of God to ward the oppressed, and the whole human family, exposed to oppression, required at his hands the judgments inflicted on Egypt. They ought to see that the spirit of true religion is a spirit in communion with God, a spirit in harmony with him, in his implacable hatred of oppression and displeasure against oppressors. When they learn to hate and to condemn the sin of slaveholding, as God does, then, but not sooner, will they be prepared to enter, with Moses, and Miriam, and the Psalmist, into the spirit of these glorious and sublime songs. Those, on the other hand, who can see no sin in that climax of oppression, American slavery and slaveholding, may very consistently complain of these songs, and repudiate the Book that contains them, as being no revelation from the true God. Just as certainly as that Book is from the true God, just so certainly does that God hate slaveholding with a hatred too intense to find expression otherwise than in the plagues of Egypt, and by the overthrow of Pharaoh and his hosts, in the Red Sea. Nay. He thus hates those lighter oppressions on account of which he inflicted those terrible judgments.

#### FURTHER REVIEW OF MR. GEO. W. BASSETT'S PLEA FOR THE RIGHT OF SECESSION.

In the beginning of his plea, Mr. BASSETT states his proposition as follows:

##### THE QUESTION STATED.

"The specific question is, *has any one of the United States a right to secede from the Union at her own option?*"

"This should not be confounded with other collateral or incidental questions, such as whether there is sufficient cause for secession? or whether it is expedient for the seceding states? or best for the other States?"

We have already insisted, and, we trust, shown, that the right to secede is founded or identical with the moral right to secede, including the "object and motive" of the secession.

And this is saying that there must be a "sufficient cause" for secession, in order to the existence of the right of secession. As before observed, our Revolutionary fathers thus understood their right of secession and shaped their Declaration of Independence accordingly. A "decent respect to the opinions of mankind" they said, "requires that they" (the seceders) "should declare the causes that impel the separation." Without seeing a "sufficient cause" mankind would not recognize the right.

We demur, then, in the outset, against Mr. BASSETT's distinction. It does not avoid the confounding of distinct questions. It is, itself a confounding of questions that should forever be kept distinct, namely; the right of secession, irrespective of the cause, and the right of secession, with a just cause. The latter only is a valid right. Mr. BASSETT, however, proceeds to say, further:

"I propose to discuss, the absolute and unqualified right

of the people of any State to dissolve their political connection with the General Government whenever they choose."

"The right of secession, implies, of course, the right of the people to be their own exclusive judges in the matter. By the very act of asking the consent or permission of the other states, to secede, they relinquish the right to do so. So, by granting them that permission, you would deny them the right. Says Ferguson, liberty is the right which every individual must be ready to vindicate for himself, and which he who pretends to bestow as a favor has, by that very act, in reality, denied."

It may be pertinent to observe, here, that the right to enter into a compact or not to do so, is one thing: the right to annul that contract, at pleasure, without consulting the other contracting parties, especially, the right to do so, irrespective of a "sufficient cause," and in violation of moral right—for an absolutely criminal "motive and object"—is quite another thing.

This observation deserves the especial attention of those who, like Mr. Bassett, and like the Southern secessionists, for whose "right of secession" he pleads, maintain that the Federal Constitution is only a bond of Confederation between sovereign States, and not an instrument, framed by the people of the United States, establishing a National Government over them. If it be a mere compact, a partnership, without limitation of time, then it is a violation of good faith for one or more of the parties, to withdraw, without leave, without "sufficient cause" in violation of moral right, and for "motives and objects" in direct opposition to "justice, and liberty," which the compact was expressly ordained to secure and establish.

The principles of ethics, applied to compacts and treaties, condemn, utterly, the conclusion to which Mr. BASSETT here arrives. Neither individuals nor States, have any right to annul their lawful contracts in such a manner and for such objects. The civil law provides restraints and punishments for individuals who thus violate their own contracts. The laws of Nations provide similar restraints and punishments for States that are guilty of similar derelictions. Among the just causes of war, if there be any, the violation of solemn compacts is one of the most grave and most universally acknowledged. To repudiate and cast off the obligations imposed by such lawful compacts, is one of the most lawless acts, one of the most heinous offences a State can commit, unless it can show a "sufficient cause." If a seceding State may judge for itself, in the matter, so may the States from which it secedes. In the case before us, the seceding States have no "sufficient cause." Mr. BASSETT will not say that they have. He is bound, therefore, to say that the non-seceding states have a right to declare that the seceded states have no "sufficient cause" for seceding, that they are therefore violators of a sacred compact, and for the most nefarious ends, from the most abominable "motives"—for the most criminal "objects"—that the non-seceding states are bound to treat them accordingly, and if possible, to defeat their nefarious ends, by "wiping out chattel slavery"—the wicked and perfidious support and perpetual protection of which, is the sole cause and object of the secession.

In confirmation, it may be well to notice that, while our previous "Articles of Confederation" were "articles of Confederation and perpetual union"—the present Federal Constitution declares itself "ordained and established"—"to form a more perfect Union." The "perpetual Union" was continued, with perfected bonds of security. So that there were no licences given to secession, in either of those instruments, but the contrary.

We cannot but think it remarkable that the paragraph of Mr. Bassett, last quoted, should be immediately followed, as it is, by the following.

##### POPULAR SUPREMACY.

"Before entering upon the direct argument for the right of secession, and as preparatory to it, I will invite attention briefly, to the great fundamental principle of free government, viz:—The political supremacy of the people of any given territory, over all human authority, subject only to a natural justice. A due consideration of the nature, and legitimate object of government will make this principle obvious to reason. The true nature of Government is the will of the people governed, voluntarily expressed, and enforced by themselves. Its object is protection from injustice. The true idea of government is that of a mutual league of such persons as may voluntarily unite in it to protect each other against lawless and vicious men. One man is not, naturally, more a ruler than another. The people of any community as a whole are endowed with natural sov-

ereignty. They alone are interested, and of course, they alone are the proper authors of laws, and the creators of magistrates. Hence they are politically superior to all constitutions, compacts, laws, or magistrates. Magistrates are only the hired servants of the sovereign people, whom they may discharge, at will. Laws and Constitutions are only the decrees of the people, which the makers are competent to annul or change, at will."

We do not suppose that, in the preceding paragraph, Mr. Bassett meant to imply that individual inhabitants of a State or Nation, are not justly subject to the restraints of righteous laws, unless they "voluntarily" consent to it; nor that individuals and communities outside of a given territorial jurisdiction are not "interested" in the nature and character of their laws and institutions; nor that magistrates, are, in such a sense and so exclusively "only the hired servants of the sovereign people" that they are not, at the same time, the ministers of God, bound to administer His laws, without cringing before a corrupt public sentiment; nor that the people are not the subjects of just government, bound to obey just rulers and not rebel against the government without "sufficient cause."

From our knowledge of Mr. Bassett, we are confident that, he did not mean either of these things; and his expressions—"subject only to natural justice" and "protection from injustice" should be sufficient, perhaps, to guard all his readers from thus misunderstanding him. Yet we fear that his special clients, in this case—the Southern seceders,—will overlook those expressions, and, from other parts of the paragraph, deduce conclusions to which they are not entitled.

Unless, indeed, they do so, we are puzzled to see what benefit they can derive from the "plea" with which it is connected, and upon which Mr. Bassett himself seems to suppose it is founded.

Under the limitations to the right of secession, imposed by "natural justice" how could the right exist, to secede for the ends of injustice—with that very "motive"—for that very "object?"

If the very object of government be "protection from injustice"—what right had the Southern seceders to secede from a government "made and ordained"—"to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty" from no "motive" and for no "object" but to establish injustice, and secure the curse of slavery?

If the subjects of a government may be justly restrained and punished by it for their crimes, and have no right to run away from it, nor to overturn it, on the plea that they have never consented to a just government, what becomes of the right of the Southern seceders to do that very thing? Be it so, that the administrators of our government have never undertaken to restrain and punish them for their crimes, it remains true that they feared it would do so, and on this apprehension they founded their plea for secession.

If it be true, as it certainly is, that all the United States are deeply and vitally "interested" in the Slave Codes of the Slave States, then no right of secession can be claimed for the Southern seceders on the ground that they are not thus interested. They have no right to maintain their barbarous institution, in our vicinity, to the annoyance and insecurity of our citizens. Our right of self-defence, our right to "protect each other from lawless and wicked men" includes our right to "wipe out chattel slavery" on this North American continent. Rights cannot conflict with each other, and hence the seceders have no such rights as those for which Mr. Bassett pleads.

"Attention to the principle of popular sovereignty," and "a due consideration of the nature and legitimate object of government"—so far from sustaining such a "right of secession" fall upon the claim set up for it with crushing weight, and grind it to powder. This will more clearly appear, when, in another article, we shall attend, more directly, to the facts of the case.

#### "NO INTERFERENCE WITH SLAVERY IN THE STATES."

This stereotyped political motto, once so much admired, is, we think, becoming somewhat less available now, as a passport to popular favor.

And yet, we fear it has not wholly lost its influence at the Federal Capital. Old habits of thought and feeling, are not easily displaced by new circumstances. So long have our public men been accustomed to shape their mea-

in such a manner as to conciliate and pacify the controlling oligarchy of slaveholders, that even now, when actually in a state of civil war with them, the same policy seems to be continued, and the utmost caution is used, to do nothing that could, in any manner, give offence to them. Those who have so long been our revered advisers, not to say dictators, in time of peace, are now, received into fraternal consultation, as to the proper manner of dealing with themselves, while they are in open rebellion!

Such is at least, our solution of the mysteries that still hang over our Federal Capital and its counsels. It is not to be denied that the friends of the Administration here, and elsewhere, have been sadly puzzled, and sorely mortified with the appearances of indecision, vacillation, inefficiency, delay, and timidity that have seemed to characterize its operations. It may be that some of this is the result of mistake. It may be that the President and his Cabinet have reasons for their forbearance, that, if known, would exonerate them from blame. But it is unfortunate that so many instances have occurred, in which there has seemed to be a lack of prompt, decided, efficient action.

The *Tribune*, *The Times*, and *The Sun*, particularly the two latter, have been rather severe on the Administration, particularly on Mr. Seward, who is supposed to be chiefly in fault in this matter. We make a few extracts from an editorial in the *Sun* of Thursday 25th:

"Shall a nation as heroic as the sun ever shone upon, be not led, but palsied and fettered before the tiger-like rush of their foes—by feeble, temporizing, politician government?"

Is not the weakest member of the Cabinet satisfied by this time, that not one supporter can be saved to the Union in the Border States, by any delicacy in carrying on the war against treason?—by such declarations, for example, as that of the President to the Mayor of Baltimore, that the troops were not intended for an aggressive movement against the Southern States. Ages may weep for our infatuation, in trying to nurse the affected Unionism of Virginia and Maryland, by a non-resistance, which has given Rebellion the advantage of Loyalty, at every point and in every sense, to this hour.

"We may be under a mistake, but as the *Sun* said from the first, so we still believe, that the Secretary of State is the weak spot in the government. Mr. Seward is nothing impolitic. He was perfectly sanguine of extinguishing secession with fine theories and fair speeches, and deep caucusing. In such resources, lies all his strength. He is certainly no man for the times. Whenever an energetic movement has been perceptible in the course of the Government, the murmur has run round that there was disagreement in the Cabinet, and that Mr. Seward would resign. All remember the rumors of this kind connected with the Fort Sumter expedition, and the significant statement following, and never contradicted, that the President ordered that demonstration on his own responsibility.

"Let the President do his duty regardless of all others. Let him understand and obey the unanimous will of the people, and if any of the Cabinet resign for want of stomach for the fight, good riddance to the biggest of them! He will never miss their support nor their political followers. There is no longer a 'Republican Party' for him to nurse or to lean upon. The Republican party will never be heard of again—of this the President may rest assured. Whenever the nation emerges from this life and death struggle, Mr. Lincoln will be remembered and rewarded either as the savior or the weak betrayer of his country. There will be no party to nominate a President for 1864, but the War Party; and it will be long years before another contest of politicians over the spoils, will rally the office seekers under the caucus banner of a Seward or a Weed.

"The complication of military and political strategy, in which our dealings with secession have been mixed up, is peculiarly unfortunate from the notorious political weakness of General Scott. God forbid that we should detract from his just renown as a patriot soldier. Give him downright fighting, and the world knows his ability and prowess. But it is useless to disguise that the General is destitute of political firmness, and is as timid a tactician, where policy is to be regarded, as he is brave in the field. It is to be feared that his views have not been purely military, and therefore not purely brave or firm. With due honor therefore, to whom honor is due, we anxiously look for more resolute demonstrations.

"We are beset with entreaties to take a stand for an instant and independent expedition to clear the way to Washington, and drive the rebels out of Maryland. The *Evening Post* only echoed yesterday, the burning words of every man about us, in calling upon General Wool, Governor Curtin, or any other competent leader, to take the responsibility, and announce himself as the head of an overwhelming force to be immediately raised, with the understanding that its descent upon treason is to be embarrassed by no sort of delays. The people would sustain anything well and boldly done for the country at this hour, whether by the government or over its head. A hundred thousand will

volunteer, buy their own arms and equipments, and pay their own expenses."

The *Times* is almost or quite equally severe; except that it does not discriminate between military and political weakness, and charges the mischief upon the latter.

The *Tribune* is less vehement, but its irony is not less caustic.

The *World* strongly censures the *Sun*, *Times*, and *Tribune*, as wantonly stimulating distrust in the Government, which must, of course, have its military and State secrets, and may be presumed to be better informed than its outside advisers. The *Sun* of Saturday, however, returns vigorously, the charge, and loudly calling on Senator Seward to resign. It says,

"All the foremost Republican, or lately Republican prints—for the Republican and Democratic parties are now things of the past, never to be resurrected—are unanimous in condemning the present master-spirit of the Cabinet, as utterly incompetent for the occasion.

"We have received a stronger confirmation of our views expressed yesterday, of the real difficulty, than even the simultaneous endorsement of them by the press of the city. A distinguished Republican Senator,\* who has just passed through this city from Washington, declared in conversation here, (as reported to us) that Mr. Seward's conduct is 'outrageous'—dallying, coaxing, and Micawbering with treason, and hanging his effeminate policy and influence, like a mill stone around the neck of the President. Let him get out of the way."

The late speech of Wendell Phillips, in which he comes out for a support of the Administration and the War, as the means of abolishing slavery, expresses confidence in the honesty of Mr. Lincoln. In his previous speech at New Bedford; he expressed strongly, his fears of the compromising policy of Seward, which, we do not see that he now retracts.

As journalists of these stormy times, and jarring opinions we do not feel at liberty to suppress these utterances of earnest men. We do not feel competent to say whether all the censures of the Administration in these matters are deserved. The prevailing opinion, here, in this city, we think is, that they are not without foundation, to a great extent.

One or two things, however, we must be permitted to say. The weak politics of the Administration, are inherent in the Chicago platform, which the leaders of that school can not get out of their heads. They still feel themselves bound to refrain from "interfering with slavery in the States." Not to interfere for its immediate and unconditional abolition, is to leave the oligarchy in possession of its power, and there must be an acknowledgment of its authority in some form. To ask of an Administration that it shall hurl the thunderbolts of the National power against the slaveholding oligarchy, and yet let slavery alone in the States, is to ask an impossibility, of course.

If the Editors of our popular city journals, the *Tribune*, the *Times*, the *Sun*, the *Independent*, &c., will call upon the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to exercise his war power as such, proclaim liberty to the slaves, and summon them to the National defense, they will do more to strengthen his hands in one day, than they can by berating him for the imbecility growing out of the political antecedents of himself and his political associates, the whole year long.

\* Supposed to be Hon. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts.

#### THE UNION, NOW AND FOREVER.

"When the rebellion is put down, what then?" asks a correspondent. It is a question which is probably engaging the attention of every thoughtful mind in the country; and we believe it is not too early to consider it.

In the first place, we must never forget that this is a war to defend the Union and the sacred cause of liberty and constitutional government against the desperate assaults of a band of thoroughly organized rebels, who took care to win half the battle from us by the most stupendous treason the world ever saw.

It is not a war of North against South, but a war of thirty millions of freemen against three hundred thousand mutinous slaveholders. The Montgomery traitors have conspired, not against the liberties of the North, but against the liberties of the nation; and the war of liberation of which we have entered against them is to free not only ourselves, of the free states, but even more, our long oppressed brethren, the seven millions of non slaveholding whites of the slave states—those seven millions whom three hundred thousand rebellious aristocrats contemptuously call "poor white trash," and value less than their own slaves.

It is in no selfish or sectional spirit that the freemen of the North are giving battle to the confederate mutineers. It is not to repel invasion, but to put down treason, that we stand in arms. Two centuries ago, God gave to our people the glorious task to proclaim liberty throughout this continent, and in this year we prove ourselves once more faithful to the trust.

But when we have put down those who seek to substitute a military despotism for the constitution of our fathers—when we have conquered the treason which is now striving to ruin our commerce and strangle our liberties, then we should be less than sensible men if we did not also put down for ever that which has alone supported and strengthened the mutinous aristocrats.

It is impossible not to see that human slavery is the cancer-worm which has for so many years gnawed at the heart of our republic. The slave-owner is an aristocrat by the very nature of his life. Even if slavery were right, it is impossible that slaveholders could exist peaceably in a republic, founded as ours is, upon the will and votes, the industry and intelligence of the people. Slavery debases labor, and our slave-owners can find no terms strong enough to express their hatred and contempt for the free laborers of the nation—the "mud-sills of society," as they call them. Democracy maintains the rights and interests of all. But a slave aristocracy must pit its interests against those of the people—it must rule—and when the people outvote it, is rebels.

We should be fatally in error, therefore, as a nation, if we did not make an end of this thing, which alone has shackled our progress, and which now has caused the desperate attempt to overthrow the government and the Union. Our merchants are giving millions for the defence of the Union. Our farmers and mechanics are going by thousands, to fight its battles. Treason has stopped our commerce when it never was so prosperous. It has embarrassed our agriculture when it had never so wide a field. The two hundred millions which we shall spend to put down the Montgomery rebellion is a trifle compared with the much larger sum which the nation loses by the stoppage of its industry and trade.

And as a nation we have the right to secure ourselves and our posterity for ever, against the repetition of such losses. Our commerce would be paralyzed with such risks hanging over it. Our industry would struggle in vain against this fatal clog. As a people living by honest industry and legitimate commerce we, cannot afford to let them destroy the Union. We cannot afford to establish a foreign nation and a tyrannous government in one half of this continent. We cannot afford to embarrass our commerce, to give free course to filibusterism, to make causeless mutiny righteous, and treason honorable.

"The Union now and forever," is the watchword under which we fight; and as a nation the most intelligent the most enterprising, the most prosperous the world ever saw, we have the right to do all that safety demands and justice permits, to preserve our liberties unimpaired for the generations who shall come after us.

"Self-preservation is the first law of nations as with individuals. We have been forced into a war to defend the best form of government the world ever saw. We shall be wise enough not to waste our millions in merely putting off an evil day. We shall be just enough to make no loyal citizen North or South, suffer by any necessary act of the nation. Let traitors look out for themselves.—*Evening Post*.

#### ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS OF THE CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

There will be a sermon before this Society, on Sabbath Evening, May 5th, at the Church of the Puritans, Union Square, New York, by Rev. Jonathan Blanchard, D. D. President of Wheaton College, Illinois. Addresses at the Anniversary on Monday Evening, May 6th, at the same place, are expected from Rev. Messrs. J. A. Thome, Cleveland, Charles B. Boynton, Cincinnati, C. H. A. Bulkeley, Patterson, N. J., and A. B. Milligan, Western Pennsylvania.

There will be a Special Meeting for conference, of the members and friends of the Church Anti-Slavery Society at the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans, on Monday P.M. May 6th, 3½ o'clock. A general attendance is requested, of those who sympathize with this Society, as a suitable exponent of evangelical Christianity, upon the subject of slavery.

In behalf of the Executive Committee.

J. C. WEBSTER President,  
HENRY T. CHEEVER Secretary.

The government, it is said, will form a camp at Washington, and at least thirty thousand troops will be gathered there—probably fifty thousand. This was the earnest advice of Senator King, more than a week ago. It is true, as reported, that Governor Letcher has received notice that any approach of Confederate troops towards Washington, will be the signal for an attack upon Richmond or Norfolk.

# The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1861.

LETTERS on business for the *Principia* should be addressed to M. B. WILLIAMS, the Publisher.

LETTERS for the Editor, whether for his consideration, or for the public, should be addressed to WILLIAM GOODSELL.

ORDERS for books or pamphlets may be addressed to either of the above.

But in all cases, the business matter should be on a slip of paper separate from suggestions or communications for the Editor—because business papers must be kept on the Publisher's file, by themselves. For the same reason, what is designed for the Publisher should be on one slip of paper, and matter designed for the Editor's attention or use should be on another, though all may be put into one envelope, and directed to either.

All letters for us should be carefully directed to 339 Pearl street, not to 48 Beckman street, nor to Box 1212, (the former address of Wm. Goodsell, where some of his letters continue to be sent.) This is the more important now, as the office of our friends, there, is about to be removed; and letters directed there will be liable to be lost.

## THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

It has begun. It is in progress. It must go on, to its completion.

It is not to be a revolution of the Government, as an organization, but only a revolution in the Administration of it, under the Constitution as it is, so as to secure its use for its legitimate and declared ends.

The Revolution is to consist, simply, in

### A NATIONAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

We say that the Revolution has begun—not that the administration has commenced it—or has determined upon it. Most probably it has not yet begun to contemplate it, as a possibility, or even as a consummation to be desired. Neither have the mass of the people yet attained to any definite conception of the change.

But the thinking portion of the people are rapidly coming to master the conception of it, not merely as a theory to be admired and cherished—nor yet as a probable event of the future, a result, merely, of processes now going forward, but as a "military necessity" of the present moment, the *sine qua non* of present self-defence, an instrumentality not to be spared, an enterprise to be entered upon, now, and with a fixed resolution that, under the blessing of God, it shall be accomplished.

We say, that this Revolution has begun, and is in progress. We say so, because the Nation has come into direct physical conflict with the slaveholders! Slowly, unintentionally, reluctantly, the present Federal Administration, has done so. The war is a fixed fact. It is begun, and is going forward. Therefore the Revolution is going forward.

The war is between the Nation, the loyal part of the people, under the Government, on the one part, against the oligarchy of about 300,000 slaveholders, on the other.

We say "the slaveholders," because the distinction between Seceders and Southern Union men, is in rapid process of fading away. There were slaveholders too prudent to counsel or to inaugurate secession, prudent enough to do what they peacefully could, to prevent it. But, they have been overborne, and have yielded.

We say "the Slaveholders" because every persistent slave holder is at heart, an enemy of justice and liberty, *de facto*, and consequently an enemy to any Constitution "ordained to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty"—and to any administration that is not expending its energies in opposition to those ends.

The first shot of the slaveholders at Fort Sumter was the slaveholders' declaration of war against the Federal Government. As such it has rallied the slaveholders of the entire Slave States, to the slaveholder's standard of rebellion, quite as effectually, and with as few exceptions, as it has rallied the non-slaveholders of the Free States against them.

We say it is, on the one part, the slaveholder's war, because it is a war instigated and begun by them, for the protection of the practice of slaveholding and of the system contrived and administered by the slaveholders to the security of the practice.

The Nation, then, that is, the loyal portion of the people, and their Government are, as a matter-of-fact, in a state of

war with the slaveholders, as such, and with their allies who sympathise with them, or who are dragooned or subsidized into their service. This is the fact, whether the people and their government are yet aware of it, or no. If they are not, now, they soon will be. They will wake up to find themselves in deadly conflict with the oligarchy of slaveholders and their allies, the white serfs of the South, who are subjected to their masters, simply because they are slaveholders, and because the Nation, hitherto, has wickedly tolerated the crime of slaveholding, thereby protecting a controlling oligarchy of slaveholders!

We say the Revolution must go on, to its completion—a National Abolition of Slavery—because, we take for granted, that the people of the Free States, when they come to understand their condition, will have the common sense and the sagacity, not to say the moral principle and the justice—to annihilate their sole enemy, the slaveholding oligarchy, by 'proclaiming liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof,' thus enlisting the God of battles on their side, and adding to the host of loyal citizens, in the very heart of the South a million of emancipated soldiers, the indomitable heroes, hitherto, of the underground railroad, and of the North Star, but now panting to fight the battles of liberty and patriotism under the flag of their own country, and on their own soil? What but the insanity of moral blindness can long delay the proclamation, inviting them to a share in the glorious second American Revolution?

### FREE SOILISM ENLARGED.

In passing homeward, from our office, on Wednesday of last week, we were going up South Seventh street, Williamsburgh, and saw a great crowd in front of the new edifice of the Manufacturers' Bank, over which a flag was flying, and in the rear of which guns were discharging, in honor, we suppose, of the erection of the building. On coming up to the spot, we found Mr. Everts, standing on the front steps, and addressing the crowd, on the great topic of the day, the war. He was defending the Americans, and the merchants especially, from the imputations cast upon them as he said, by Lamartine, of being worshippers of the almighty dollar, and without consciences or hearts. This charge he rebutted by the new fact of the general patriotic uprising, "in support of the Government," and the munificent contributions of the merchants to the sinews of the war. "A more noble display of disinterested patriotism," said he "was never witnessed." After proceeding, for some time, in this strain, he started the question—"What is to be the result of this war?"

In answer to this question, he drew a glowing picture of the material wealth and prosperity of the Southern States, a few decades hence, when, after the return of peace, the now impoverished soil of that region, which is now driving the Southerners to war, in their despairing search after expansion, would have become rejuvenated under a better style of culture. "I will not argue the matter," said he, "I will not illustrate. I only give my dogmatic prediction of the fact. How it will be accomplished, I say not."

"It will be by free labor!" interposed a respectable appearing citizen, who, we learned, was Mr. S—the President of the Bank. The crowd responded with three hearty cheers, and the speaker resumed the same strain of remark. Not a word was lisped, directly, of slavery, or of the slave, of the demands of humanity, of justice, or of mercy. Not a word of the sacred rights of humanity, nor of the mission of the Government, supported by the war, to protect equal and inalienable rights. "Material development, and pecuniary prosperity," for somebody, was the entire burden of the oration. The crowd applauded, and separated. It occurred to us that if Lamartine had been present, he might have questioned whether the "noblest displays of disinterested patriotism ever witnessed," could culminate in mere anticipations "of material prosperity?" The poet might have inquired whether "the worship of the Almighty dollar" were utterly obsolete, with us, even now. "Material prosperity," he might have said, "however important it may be, in its place, should not inspire the highest aspirations of men in a sanguinary civil war."

As we walked, musingly, homeward, the suspicion flashed over our mind that visions of "material prosperity" in "the Sunny South" might possibly have mingled with, and somewhat polluted, with the love of gold, the tide of patriotic effervescence we had been witnessing, for some days past. We remembered the "white man's party" of

1850, and of 1860, the Emigrant Aid Societies, the Eli Thayer projects, and the calculations of the late Washington "Republic" and its editor. We asked ourselves whether the animus and the results of the present war-spirit were to begin and end with an enlarged re-production, by the cartridge box, of the "Free-Soil" enterprise by the ballot box, for the sole benefit of the "whites," transferring the struggle from the Territories to the States, and we asked ourselves what such "sublime and disinterested manifestations of patriotism" would be likely to devise and accomplish for the colored man—whether he, to whom the South is almost exclusively indebted for the sum total of its "material wealth," more or less, is to be shoved off by "colonization" from the land of his birth, to make room for the invading "white" man—and whether his condition was to be as much bettered, as it ought to be, by the exchange of a Southern master, for a Northern expatriator, in case the North should conquer the South? And, just here, to complete the dark picture, we recalled to mind the recent hints of the *Tribune*, which grated harshly on us, at the time, that the land of the Southern rebels is to be confiscated for the use of the victorious invader, instead of being divided, (if confiscated at all) between the laborers whose hire, for two centuries, has been kept back by fraud; and to whom, in the sight of God, the soil equitably belongs, to-day.

While we are execrating Jeff. Davis, for his proposed acts of piracy, are we to incur the odium, and bear the tort of being land pirates, ourselves?

The practical conclusion to which we arrived, was this—There is abundant need for the continued exertions, the searching scrutiny, and the honest words of Christian abolitionists, still. It will not do for them to cast off care, and resign the cause of God and of humanity into the tender mercies of invading regiments, however necessary and proper their vocation, in this emergency; any more than to the cabals of scheming politicians, with both of which classes, we fear, "the almighty dollar," is the object of adoration, still.

Mere "Free Soilism"—applied to the Slave States, may prove no better a substitute for Christian abolitionism in the Old Slave States than it has been in the Territories, hitherto. It is by no means probable that God would prosper an enterprise carried on, by such a stimulus and for such ends. Our northern soldiers, we hope and trust, will spurn the stigma cast upon them by such sinister proposals. Let them show that their war is for principle, for justice, for right, for the liberty of the whole people—not for the "almighty dollar" in their own pockets.

### EDITORIAL ITEMS.

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and the New York City Anti-Slavery Society, have recalled their appointments of their accustomed anniversaries in this city, on account of the war excitement and preparations that now occupy the public attention.

THE LEGISLATURE of Kansas, it is said, has considered the proposed amendment of the Constitution, recommended by Congress, and has decided against its adoption. They say 'If the Constitution does already protect slavery in the States, there is no occasion for its adoption.—if it does not, we will not provide any.'

No other State Legislature, that we know of, has taken the proposed amendment into consideration. And yet, no political paper, that we know of, except the "*Central Republican*," Faribalt, Minn., has come out squarely against that measure.

[We have just learned that the Legislature of California has adopted the amendment. Shame!]

REV. MR. VAN DYKE of Brooklyn, and REV. NEHEMIAH ADAMS, of Boston, have been called upon by Committees, demanding to know whether they are loyal to the government, or whether they sympathise with the rebels. No abolition minister, that we know of, has yet come under suspicion of disloyalty or treason, or has needed to be inquired of, on the subject. Messrs. Van Dyke and Adams, we learn, have both come out strongly, in favor of supporting the government. In common with other abolitionists, we strongly disapprove of threats, or questions savoring of intimidation, or discountenancing freedom of speech. Give us open sedition, frankly expressed, in preference to professions of loyalty, under the influence of constraint. The

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Adams, Van Dykes, Springs, and Bethunes, are to be spared only when they sail under false colors.

PETITIONS TO CONGRESS for the abolition of slavery in the States, should be circulated without delay. In Massachusetts, we believe, the good work has already begun. Now is the time. Let Congress, on the 4th of July, be flooded with such petitions.

ABOLITIONISTS in Boston, and vicinity, we understand, will generally agree with the late speech of Wendell Phillips, and will unite with him in demanding a National abolition of slavery. On that vital point, abolitionists will henceforward, we trust, fully harmonize and coöperate.

SENATOR SUMNER of Massachusetts, it is said, is strongly opposed to the compromising policy of Senator Seward, and dreads his pernicious influence in the Cabinet.

THE TRIBUNE of Saturday 27, expresses fears of compromise. Is the Tribune yet prepared to denounce that worst of all the proposed compromises, the core and comprehension of them all, the amendment of the Constitution proposed by the late Congress?

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON in last week's Anti-Slavery Standard, says, "There is great danger that Mr. Lincoln will listen to the advice of Mr. Seward, and abandon the Capitol. On Sunday it was evident that Mr. Seward was alarmed." He adds:

"There is one threat of the Northern journals which carries terror to the hearts of the mad Secessionists, and that is the threat to liberate every slave in the land, before the war closes. Were the South really to believe this to be the solemn purpose of the Free States, it would alone do more to crush the rebellion than an army of one hundred thousand men."

"The people of the free States must see to it that any amount of provisions follow their troops into the enemy's country, and that they are not betrayed by their government."

A HANDBILL was pasted up last week, on the Bulletin of the Sun office, and elsewhere in this city, enumerating sundry conditions of peace with the South, such as [1] the giving up one hundred of the leading rebels to be hanged, [2] revealing the names of their principal Northern confederates, &c., and finally, the immediate, total and unconditional abolition of slavery. We were told that it was attributed, by many, to the Editor or the Proprietor of the Principia. This was a mistake. We knew nothing of it, till it appeared, and have never seen an un mutilated copy of it. The demand for the abolition of slavery, we however endorse, most heartily. Of the rest we say nothing.

## News of the Day.

SATURDAY, APRIL 27.

The following articles of news came too late for insertion in our last paper.

**Harrisburg, April 26.** It was reported that an attack was made by Marylanders, on Hanover village, York County, on Tuesday last, occasioned by a great stampede of negroes. Trustworthy accounts say that whole families are crossing into Adams, York and Franklin Counties in this State. A report places the total loss of slaves by Maryland since the troubles began at five hundred. Great fears are entertained in the border Counties of Maryland of the departure of the entire slave population.

**Washington, Wednesday, April 24, 1861.** A deputation of sixteen Virginians and eight Marylanders visited the President on Monday, and demanded cessation of hostilities until after the session of Congress. Mr. Lincoln of course declined the proposition. One of the deputation said that 75,000 Marylanders would contest the passage of troops over her soil; to which the President replied that he presumed there was room enough on her soil to bury 75,000 men. The answer was prompt and decided.

There are 5,400 men at Annapolis, including the Seventh Regiment. The Government has possession of the railroad to Annapolis, and the troops occupy the city. It is said that 2,200 Maryland troops are mustered to oppose the passage of the Seventh.

There will be no march toward this city from Annapolis until sufficient force is congregated there to make their passage over Maryland perfectly safe.

The news of the general uprising of the people in the North to defend the Government, has had a good effect here, to-day.

The conservative sentiment, is rising, in Baltimore.

**Annapolis Roads, Wednesday, April 24, 1861.** At 10 o'clock last evening the *Harriet Lane* gave orders for the fleet to anchor. Shortly after, Capt. Faunce came on

board, and brought the startling intelligence that Capt. Pendergrast had saved the *Cumberland*, and escaped from Norfolk, after another Harper's Ferry coup de main. We were also startled by the intelligence that the gallant Seventh were not in Washington, as positively stated in New-York, just as we left, but that they were still at Annapolis, where the track was torn up for eighteen miles. We learned that they, with the Massachusetts troops, were determined to relay the entire track, at once.

The Secessionist forces now collected in Virginia are said to number some 14,000, but it is not likely, from all we can learn, that they are more than half armed.—N. Y. Times.

A lady who was living in Baltimore at the time of the treacherous slaughter of the Massachusetts men in her streets, states that gentlemen of wealth and position, who came in from the riot to dinner, openly boasted of the money they had scattered among the mob to stimulate them to attack and kill the defenders of their country. If those gentlemen should find this contest a losing business in the end, who can pity them.—Tribune.

Jefferson Davis was at Montgomery on Saturday last. Great dismay was caused there by the tidings that New-York was a unit for the Union and the war in its defense. An announcement that the 7th New-York Regiment had lost 100 men in passing through Baltimore was received with yells of exultation.—Ib.

Arms. There is some apprehension, not without foundation, of a scarcity of arms. It is remembered that the traitors, whom for five months we have permitted to cajole and to blind us, prepared for their treachery by theft and perjury, using the power which official station gave to plunder, so far as they could safely, the arsenals of the North. They have put into the hands of the Rebels, in this way, many thousands of the arms of the United States, and left us, to a certain degree, without our usual resource. In addition to this, the traitors have found sympathizers among us, men base enough to sell arms where they knew they would be presently in the hands of the deadly enemies of the Union. But we have, nevertheless, arms enough for present purposes.—Ib.

MONDAY, APRIL 29.

The President has issued a proclamation, extending the blockade, previously proclaimed against the Confederate States, to North-Carolina and Virginia, in consequence of the seizure of United States property, in both those States.

The Virginia Ordinance of Secession has been published, subject to ratification by the people. It repeals the ratification of the Federal Constitution, in 1778, and declares—

That the Union between the States of Virginia and other States, under the Constitution aforesaid, is hereby dissolved, and that the State of Virginia is in the full possession and exercise of all the rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State.

And they do further declare, that said Constitution of the United States of America is no longer binding on any of the citizens of the State.

The Ordinance shall take effect and be an act of this day, when ratified by a majority of the votes of the people of the State, cast at a poll to be taken thereon on the fourth Thursday in May next, in pursuance of a schedule hereafter to be enacted.

Pennsylvania has been called upon by the General Government for 21 more regiments, to which she will respond, with the addition of 10,000 men as a margin to fill up losses occasioned by battle or disease.

Gov. Curtin, in his message to the Pennsylvania Legislature, it is said, will declare that that State will permit no hostile soil to lie between the National Capital and the States loyal to the Union. He will recommend the appropriation of no less than \$3,000,000, and perhaps \$5,000,000, for the prosecution of the war for the Union on the part of Pennsylvania.

**Philadelphia, April 28, 1861.** C. J. Ingersoll has invited ex-Presidents Buchanan, Pierce, Fillmore, Tyler, and Van Buren, to become arbitrators to settle the differences between the North and the South. There is little expectation here of any good resulting from this.

By what authority has this invitation been given? And by what authority will they act, if they accept it?

Mr. Ritchie of *The Richmond Whig* was in Philadelphia yesterday, on his way to Europe to purchase arms for Virginia. Government will, undoubtedly, see that he does not leave the country for any such purpose. He should be arrested, at once.

**Baltimore, Saturday, April 27, 1861.** The remainder of Gunpowder Bridge was destroyed last night.

The report of the destruction of the Bush River Bridge is confirmed.

**Chicago, Ill., April 28, 1861.** A gentleman has just returned to this city from a business tour through Alabama and Mississippi, leaving Mobile on Tuesday last.

He reports that hundreds of men, who had gone to Pensacola to take Fort Pickens, are returning home daily, disgusted, and satisfied that it is impossible for the Confederate States to capture the fort.

Large numbers of the troops at Pensacola were sick and

dying, and in hospitals, from the effects of fatigue, exposure, and hunger.

In view of events at St. Louis, a regiment was sent from Springfield yesterday to occupy Alton.

A bill for a loan of \$3,000,000 for war purposes, and another to send 10,000 men into camp, to answer the next call of the Government, are before the Legislature. Both bills will probably pass to-morrow.

**Frederick, Md., April 28, 1861.** Senator Mason of Virginia, who is the guest of Col. Kunkel, the Representative of this District in the late Congress, was serenaded last night.

Mr. Mason responded by saying that he was here accidentally, and he could not with propriety speak of Maryland politics, but he could speak only of Virginia. He could say, however, that the reconstruction of the Union was an impossibility. Virginia sympathized with Maryland, and he intimated that Virginia was disposed to exhibit practically.

Col. Kunkel said that the North denied Christian fellowship to the South, and there was no social or political sympathy between the people of the two sections, and the people of Maryland would submit to be governed by the action of her legal representatives.

Mr. Brooke, President of the Senate, Speaker Kilgore, and others, were also serenaded, and they responded thereto.

The Hon. Reverdy Johnson is here, and he has in his possession a letter from President Lincoln, suggesting that Maryland, through its Legislature, should agree to an armistice with the General Government for six days. [Doubtful.]

A courier arrived here from Virginia yesterday, communicating the fact that Virginia had united herself with the Southern Confederacy under President Davis. [Doubtful.]

**Cairo, Ill., April 28, 1861.** A gentleman who left New-Orleans on Friday furnishes the following:

The whole country between Jackson, Tenn., and New-Orleans is in arms. At every station along the road, companies are seen drilling. They appeared destitute of arms, using old muskets, shot-guns and rifles. The telegraph lines are in the hands of the Secessionists, and not permitted to give information as to the movements of troops. Leading Secessionists at New-Orleans are in hourly expectation of news of the capture of Washington. Our informant was told the North should hear no more news until the Treasury at Washington was in the hands of the Confederate troops, and President Lincoln and Cabinet prisoners. All the troops except those at Fort Pickens were being rapidly moved North.

**Philadelphia, Sunday, April 28, 1861.** After the arrival of the Northern reinforcements at Washington, the battalion of which Cassius M. Clay was in command, was honorably relieved from further duty. Some of the most influential men in the battalion and in Washington immediately presented a petition to the President, urging that Mr. Clay be appointed a Major-General in the Army of the United States. It was seconded by the almost universal sanction of the volunteers in Washington.

[We hope he will not be appointed. We do not think he ought to be trusted.]

Gov. Hicks of Maryland, in his Message to the Legislature, timidly advises that the state should not secede from the Federal Government.

"Another military necessity. Within easy cannon range of the guns of Fort McHenry lies the foundry and machine shop of the two men whose services to Secession are this day worth more than those of any others in the Rebel State of Maryland, Thomas and Ross Winans.

A word from Washington to the Commander of Fort McHenry, and this smoking foundry will, within twenty minutes, sink into a mass of smoking ruins.—Tribune.

**Washington, April 27.**—The 71st Regiment of N. York arrived in good condition, after a hard passage. They had been brought into battle array, on an alarm, and expected an engagement. "Each man had only two crackers for food," so says a correspondent of the Tribune.

Nothing strikes us with more astonishment than the repeated accounts of troops being sent out from the North, without being amply provisioned! What does it mean?

**Philadelphia, April 28, 1861.**—The fifth Regiment of Pennsylvania, and the New-York and Massachusetts regiments held service to-day at Washington, at Representatives Hall. The band discoursed sacred music. The troops all healthy.

**Annapolis, Saturday, April 27, 6 p. m.**—About 12,000 troops in all have arrived at Annapolis. 3,000 troops from New-York are expected to-night. I learn from good authority that no more troops will be ordered without complete preparations for service.

The continued mild weather only saves great suffering, 1,000 slept in the open air last night. There is plenty of provisions, but the commissariat is badly organized. Some of the troops were twenty-four hours without food. The supplies by the "Kill Von Kull" were timely, especially

the tent cloth. Teams are in great demand for transport of medical stores.

Among the reports of the day is this, that 20,000 troops are at Richmond on the way to Washington.

[Who can doubt that a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, on condition of their supporting the Government would have stopped all these threats of invading Washington, long ago?]

A Richmond despatch dated the 26th, gives the following particulars of the raising of large bodies of troops in all parts of that State and North Carolina.

It states that the ladies of Virginia are all engaged making uniforms and clothing for the troops. It says that batteries are being erected at Portsmouth Hospital and Craney Island, with Dahlgren guns, and that five volunteer companies from Georgia had arrived there.

Albany, April, 28, 1861.—It is understood here that Gen. John A. Dix will be one of the Major-Generals of the New-York forces, appointed by Gov. Morgan.

By an arrival from Savannah yesterday, we learn that three privateers, ready equipped, were in that port on the 23d inst., their bonds filed, and only awaiting the word which should send them forth to prey upon our Northern commerce.—*Tribune*.

The Southern papers speak of the people of the North as a "godless mob" of "Puritans, Freelothers, Abolitionists, Mormons, Atheists, and Amalgamationists." It is easy to see that their ideas have been derived from the slanders against abolitionists in such papers as the N. Y. Herald, Journal of Commerce, Observer, and Northern pro-slavery presses, generally, only that the epithet Puritans, a term of reproach at the South, has been added to the description.

Gen. Harper, of Virginia, while endeavoring to get the consent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for the transportation of his troops, protested that Virginia would never suffer her citizens to attack the Capital. But Gen. Scott says he would not advise the Government to relax in measures of defence.

In Connecticut, vigorous measures are taking, to put their forces in good order. As a specimen, the town of Windham appropriated \$2,000 to equip a company of volunteers, and voted to pay the volunteers \$12 per month extra, and \$1 per week for each child of each volunteer under the age of twelve years. The meeting was presided over by Col. Rufus L. Baker, late Democratic candidate for Congress.

Harrisburgh, Pa., April 27. Five car loads of fugitives arrived to-day from the South. [Fugitive whites, we suppose.]

A Confidential agent arrived here this morning from Harper's Ferry, and reports that there are 2,400 men at that place, and 1,000 men marched to Alexandria on Thursday.

Officers of the Harper's Ferry forces believe that General Beauregard is present at Richmond with 7,000 troops.

The Baltimore and Ohio railroad is still carrying provisions to Baltimore.

#### TUESDAY, 30.

A report that Senator Mason of Virginia had been arrested at Perryville, was extensively circulated yesterday. We regret to say that it was founded only on the arrest of some other parties for examination, merely.—*Tribune*.

The Confederate pirates have taken another prize. They have captured and carried into Wilmington, N. C., the United States steamer Uncle Ben, and imprisoned her officers and crew as spies. The Uncle Ben was chartered by the Government of a firm in this city for service at Fort Sumter.

#### ARMING THE NEGROES.

The Richmond Examiner has the following: FREE COLORED MEN.—A list of thirty-two worthy free negroes of this city, who have offered their services in the work of defence, or in any other capacity required, has been sent in to the Captain of the Woodis Riflemen. We noticed colored men in uniform. They came as musicians with the Georgia troops.

The Richmond Enquirer is responsible for this: "NEGROES VOLUNTEERING.—Free negroes in Amelia County have offered themselves to the Government for any service. In our neighboring city of Petersburg, too, hundred free negroes offered for any work that might be assigned to them, either to fight under white officers, dig ditches, or anything that could show their desire to serve Old Virginia. In the same city, a negro hackman came to his master, and insisted, with tears in his eyes, that he should accept all his savings, \$100, to help equip the volunteers. The free negroes of Chesterfield have made a similar proposition. Such is the spirit, among bond and free, through the whole of the State.

—We should think these paragraphs would call a blush to the cheek of any Secessionist who reflects that the ultra Pro-slavery interest in Virginia has been, for years, endeavoring to pass an act subjecting every free negro to slavery

or exile, while such an act has actually been passed and enforced in Arkansas, and we believe in one or two other States. Such an act has also been fastened by outside pro-slavery influence upon New-Mexico. And now Slavery is taking the money and unpaid services of free negroes to aid her in her war upon the Union!

Thus far, we believe, the employment of blacks on the side of the Union has been steadily discountenanced. We do not know how long it may be best to persevere in this policy, if the Secessionists insist on eking out their ranks and their funds by the help of negroes.—*N. Y. Tribune*.

Such facts, and such comments should call a blush to the cheek of any President, member of the Cabinet, or influential editor who has never called, or proposed to call, upon our colored fellow citizens, "bond and free, throughout the whole" nation to sustain the Government, a measure which would soon settle our difficulties, without doubt, for all coming time, while there is no prospect that anything else will. What if the South should liberate and arm her slaves against us, rather than be conquered by us? Such things have happened.

Highly important if true.—In *The Philadelphia Press* of Monday morning, we find the following letter:

Washington, April 26, 1861.—It is stated, by the best authority, that Lord Lyons, the British Minister, sent a special messenger to detain the steamer Persia at New-York until full dispatches could be forwarded by him to the Home Government. Lord Lyons is advised, I understand, to proffer to the United States Government, for the suppression of the Slave State Rebellion, arms, ammunition and troops from England and Canada. By the Persia he sent out orders for 300,000 stand of the improved Minie musket, and for a vast number of the celebrated rifled cannon. Orders, in future, are not to be filled in England for the Rebel Government for arms, ammunition or ships of war.

It is believed that an English and French fleet will be sent to the Southern ports at an early day, to coöperate with the United States fleet in the blockade of secession ports.

Louis Napoleon has joined with Victoria to suppress the Slave State rebellion. It is stated that his offers of service to President Lincoln are now on their way to Washington.

It is hoped that Yancey and his confederate traitors will be seized by France and England, and sent to the United States to be tried and hung under the extradition treaties.

Orders have been issued, it is reported, to the Governor-General of Canada to offer to the United States men and arms. [Doubtful.]

It is said that the Legislature of Maryland has refused to call a Convention to consider the question of Secession, and the Union feeling is said to be gaining in the State. The question of the transit of troops, it is also said, will be satisfactorily settled.

Great excitement in Ohio.—Gov. Dennison of Ohio, wrote to the Mayor of Cincinnati that it was inexpedient to seize arms or provisions consigned to Kentucky, as that State had not yet seceded. A deputation from Louisville, Ky., had also visited Cincinnati, made patriotic speeches, and persuaded the Mayor to allow the shipment of produce to Southern ports.—Both these movements have raised a storm of indignation against both the Governor and the Mayor, and strong and spirited remonstrances have been made against their course. Several boxes of arms consigned to Kentucky have been detained, subject to the orders of the Government.

To the Editors of the Evening Post:

GENTLEMEN: I am authorized by the President to say that he is determined to prosecute the war begun against the Government of the United States, with all the energy necessary to bring it to a successful termination. He will call for a large additional force, relying upon Providence and the loyalty of the people to the Government they have established.

Washington, on Saturday evening, was considered by those most capable of judging, to be entirely safe from attack.

JAMES A. HAMILTON.

New-York, April 29, 1861.

Virginia. The spirit of Union is rising in Western Virginia.—But the Secessionists, preparatory to the popular vote on the secession act, are routing loyal citizens from their homes, as the border ruffians did the free settlers in Kansas.—The convention in the mean time, assuming the secession as a fact, has negotiated with Alex. H. Stephens, Commissioner for the Confederate States, a treaty of Confederation, ratifying the Constitution of the Confederate States, subject, nominally, to the decision of the people, on the act of secession.

The Charleston Mercury earnestly protests against the advice of certain Southern journals, which urge an immediate assault upon Washington, and its occupation as the capital of the Confederate States.

A rumor was afloat up town on Monday, which created no little sensation in the Eleventh Ward. It appears that a German grocer of Charleston, who was impressed into

the service of the Confederate army and escaped by concealing himself in a vessel, has arrived in this city. He reports that at the bombardment of Fort Sumter at least one thousand men were killed on the side of the rebels. Four hundred men were killed in Fort Moultrie, and thirty by Anderson's first discharge.

False friends. "Where," asks the *Charleston Mercury*, "are Messrs. Fillmore, Everett, Winthrop, Cushing, Butler, and Hallet, of Boston; Van Buren, Cochrane, Weed, Dix and Barnard, of New-York; Ingersoll, Watkins, Binney, Black, Bigler, and ex-President Buchanan, of Pennsylvania; Douglas et id omne genus—Democrats and Whigs of all stripes, hues and conditions—where are they in the bloody crusade proposed by President Lincoln against the South? Unheard of, in their dignified retirement! or bounding on the fanatic warfare, or themselves joining the noble army of martyrs for liberty marching on the South. The New-York Herald, but yesterday denouncing the 'bloody disunionism of President Lincoln's administration,' now declares triumphantly that the whole North is of one party, and that party is to conquer and subdue the South."

The South has been betrayed, doubtless, as well as the North. Such are the friendships of the wicked! All the Northern defenders of the Oligarchy, priests and politicians, were such, for a price. When there are no prospects of pay, or better pay can be expected on the other side, they shift their position. That split, in the Charleston Nominating Convention, can never be healed.

Col. Lee, of Arlington, son-in-law of the late George Washington Parke Custis, who has joined the secessionists, has, I learn, sold his property to the State of Virginia for war purposes. It has heights upon the south side of the Potomac commanding Washington. But the War Department has been ahead of Virginia, for it has had skilful officers examining those heights and marking off grounds for fortifications.—*Herald*.

Secession Defunct in Baltimore.—BALTIMORE, April 29, 1861. Secession is defunct in Baltimore, and the Union sentiment again triumphant. But few men are willing to-day to announce themselves secessionists. One week's contagion has overwhelmed the conspirators, and the Union sentiment is now stronger and deeper than ever. The day of reckoning has come, and those who last week, sustained by the police, disgraced our city, shrink from the public gaze. The reaction is overwhelming in all parts of the State, and we are prepared to meet the issue at the ballot box. Sad as were the doings of the past ten days, they have forever settled the question of secession in Maryland. On Wednesday, our Custom House, which has been the den in which most of the treason has been hatched, will be cleared of its traitors, and the new appointees will take their places. The American flag will be immediately hoisted over the Custom House, and responded to, throughout the city, despite the prohibition of our dictators. The boys are selling miniature flags on the streets. The secession flag has disappeared, it being regarded as the emblem of our terrible wrongs.—*Herald*.

Chambersburg, Pa., April 29, 1861. A test vote in the Maryland Legislature, at Frederick to-day, on secession, resulted yeas 13, nays 53.—*Id*

#### WEDNESDAY, MAY 1.

A negro panic has seized the people of New-Orleans. The negro churches have been closed by order of the Mayor, and all assemblages of negroes, slave or free, have been forbidden.

HARRISBURGH, PENN., Tuesday, April 30. The Chief Justice of Vermont was in Richmond on Friday last, and had a full opportunity of judging of the number of troops there. He estimates them at 11,000, and believes that 15,000 more were south of that point, in motion northward.

A gentleman holding an official position in Washington arrived here to-day, after one week's stay in Virginia. He communicates the important fact that the vote against secession in the secret session of the Virginia Convention was fully 50, and not 16, as reported. He got this information from a prominent member of the Convention, who dare not make the statement public. No Virginia paper dare publish it!

David Mitchell, machinist, belonging to Perry County, Penn., has arrived here from Richmond. He was forced to volunteer in that city, but made his escape at night. He had great difficulty in reaching here. He says that all men of Northern birth are watched with desperate vigilance.

ANNAPOLIS, Tuesday, April 30. The steamer *Monticello* and a gun boat arrived to day, from New-York. They have gone down the Bay, to participate in the blockade of Virginia ports. The *Wyoming* is being converted into a gun-boat, and will follow.

The Maryland brought down from Perryville a large number of transport cars for the railroad.

Two hundred men of the Eighth (New-York) Regiment with two pieces of artillery, are entrenching themselves on an elevation some ten miles from Annapolis, completely commanding the road to Baltimore. The position is on

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the north side of the Severn River. All the Northern mails are now to go via Annapolis and Perryville.

The Union sentiment is rapidly gaining ground in this part of Maryland. Two regiments from New York are said to be in the Bay.

By a private letter just received from Virginia by the chaplain of the Annapolis Naval School, I learn that the Virginians are all wild with excitement, and everywhere rushing to arms. He says there are 7,000 South Carolina troops in Richmond, and 1,500 Georgia troops at Norfolk, Va. Last Sunday the summons to arms reached Lexington, in Rockland County, Va., and before sundown five companies had left. A pressing want of provisions is already experienced, and the paper currency of the State is almost worthless.

FREDERICK, Md., via CHAMBERSBURG, April 30. Gen. Scott will issue a proclamation declaring partial martial law over the District of Columbia, and over the line of Railroad established by the Government for national purposes.

WILMINGTON, N. C. The secessionists on the 25th had entire control of the place. The steamer *Uncle Ben*, of New-York, went into New Inlet on the 19th to obtain fuel. As soon as she reached the dock, she was seized by the mob, and the officers and crew were taken into custody and locked up. At last accounts they were in prison. The steamer was immediately employed in the transport of troops and provisions. The Secession flag was hoisted on board, and the words "Uncle Ben, New-York," on her stern were painted out.

*Arms for the Rebels.*—It is well known to numerous parties in this City, that some two or three months since, a contract was made with the Consul-General of Belgium at New-Orleans, by the seceding States, for a supply of arms of the most approved pattern. These arms were to be manufactured at Leige, at one of the most celebrated establishments in Europe. The contract was for a Million Dollars' worth. It is now very nearly, if not quite time for these weapons to be received at the Southern ports. Hence the greater necessity for their immediate and thorough blockade.—*Times.*

The Virginians are said to be forming a large military camp at Dumfries, on the Potomac, about 25 miles below Washington.

*Wall street foggyism.*—The *Tribune* says that in Wall Street, the belief prevailed yesterday in certain circles in that part of the city, according to which peace is soon to be made between the Rebels and the United States!

Gen. Harney, who had been arrested in Virginia has been released by Gov. Letcher.

Georgia troops are constantly on the march, northward for Norfolk Va., whence they expect to go and attack Washington.

The *National Intelligencer* of to-day announces that both houses of the Maryland Legislature passed resolutions affirming the right of the general government to allow its troops to march through Maryland without hindrance to defend the national capital.

PHILADELPHIA, April 30.

A large number of Baltimoreans, who were driven from their homes under mob rule, have returned to that city with their families, the Union majority being restored to power.

The *N. Y. Herald* is as bitter against abolitionists, as ever, and threatens that they, too, are to be put down, as well as the seceders. It says:

Abolition will hang on the same tree with rebellion. If Southern revolution has created such an outburst of armed enthusiasm throughout the land, the more crafty, cowardly abolition of the North which conjured it into being is no less condemned.

Governor Pickens of South Carolina, has just made a fiery address to the people of his State. He promised them the pleasure of capturing Washington.

John M. Botts, of Virginia, has addressed Attorney-General Bates a letter, dated April 19, in which he urges the expediency of a truce to hostilities, and the immediate call of a National Convention.

And what does he mean by a National Convention? Would he include the "Confederate States," or exclude them? Would he have the loyal States represented in the same Convention with rebels? Or would he have the former deliberate whether they will yield to the latter? If neither, what is the meaning of the proposal for the Convention?

JOHN BROWN'S SON ENLISTING NEGROES FOR THE WAR.—A letter in the *Cleveland Herald*, from Youngs'own, Ohio, dated April 28, says:

"I have just learned from a canal boat captain who reached this place last evening, that John Brown Jr., is encamped on Beaver River, about midway between Newcastle Pa., and the Ohio river, with four hundred negroes, principally from Canada, whom he is practicing in military drill. The captain of whom I speak, brought a large amount of flour and other provisions from Pittsburgh for the

camp. He did not learn the particular object of the gathering, but presumes it has some relation to a visit to Virginia—probably Harper's Ferry—when the proper time arrives. The camp is not more than a day's march from the Virginia line. The captain further states that 1,500 additional negroes are expected to reach the camp in a few days. They were well provisioned and supplied, generally.

Another canal boat has since arrived, whose captain confirms the report of seeing a large body of negroes encamped on the 'seven mile slack-water.'

DEALING WITH TRAITORS.—A member of the N. Y. Seventh Regiment, writes that.

"Six Secessionists were caught yesterday in treasonable acts, and two were shot this morning, at the Navy Yard. One is to be shot to-morrow morning. He was in the employ of the Ordnance Department, and had been set to work filling bombs; but instead of charging them with powder, he put sand in them. Several men have been arrested for tearing up the track of the railroad; and they will be summarily dealt with."

A private letter from Annapolis, states that two men were hanging at the yard arm of the U. S. brig *Caledonia*, one for smuggling provisions and powder to the rebels at Charleston, the other for piloting the Seventh Regiment on the Chesapeake bar—with the intention that the Baltimoreans might get possession of Annapolis before the Seventh could land.

Charles A. Griner, from Georgia, but a native of Philadelphia, has been arrested in that city, by order of Gen. Patterson, on a charge of being concerned in the taking of Fort Pulaski, near Savannah, Georgia. He was committed to prison.

THURSDAY, MAY 3.

*The Administration and the War.* The morning papers agree in stating that the Government is now determined to prosecute the war with vigor. The *Tribune* says:

Mr. Lincoln has long been strongly in favor of this policy, and so have Messrs. Blair, Chase, and Cameron. Messrs. Seward and Welles at first dissented, but have at length yielded to the general voice of the people.

The *Sun* says, We have great pleasure in reporting the substance of the first interview between the President and the first messenger—the son of a gentleman high in commercial circles in this city—who reached Washington with the news of the "Rising of the North." His report of the unanimous enthusiasm of all parties was received with utter astonishment, and no slight degree of incredulity. The news of the uncompromising ardor of the Democratic leaders and masses, in particular, in the military support of the Government, was amazing, overwhelming, incredible to President and Secretaries, alike. Our informant was brought before a cabinet council, interrogated, cross-examined and sifted in the most searching manner, as to his means of information, and possibilities of being under some mistake, before the too glad news could be believed.

B. STON, Wednesday, May 1, 1861.—Chas. Francis Adams, Minister to England, Cassius M. Clay, Minister to Russia, and Jacob S. Haldeman, to Stockholm, were passengers per the *Niagara*, which sailed to-day. [We thought Clay was in the army. Has he done up all his fighting, so soon?]

PORTLAND, Me., Wednesday, May 1, 1861.—An attempt was made to-day to blow up the State Powder House, on Bramhall Hill, containing 1,000 kegs of powder, by building a fire at an air hole outside. It was fortunately discovered, and extinguished.

Commissioners from Western Virginia visited Washington yesterday and told the President that if he would supply them with arms, the Unionists would take care of that part of the State.

Capt. Oakes, one of the officers of the United States Army in Texas, has arrived at Washington, after traversing the Southern States. He says that the greatest military activity prevails throughout the South. Troops are gathering at all the principal points. The men look well, drill well, and are enthusiastic for the rebel cause, and insane with the lust of conquest, determined on taking Washington, and on whipping the North. Capt. Oakes is of opinion that, man to man, they are superior to our volunteers, and that our only safety lies in sending against them an overwhelming force.—*Tribune.*

MILLEDGEVILLE, April 26.—Gov. Brown has issued his proclamation, which will appear in a Milledgeville paper, prohibiting the payment of all debts to Northern creditors till the end of hostilities, and directing the payment of money into the State treasury to be refunded with interest, at the end of the war, to depositors.

The *Cincinnati Gazette*, in expostulating with Kentucky, Tennessee, &c., against their proclivities to secession, and especially against their attempted neutrality, uses the following strong argument:

"Nor can the breakwater which they vainly hope to make of the Border Slave States, save them from the consequences of their folly and treachery. The government has the clear and indefensible right, as a last resort, should every other fail, to march an army into the rebellious district, to quell the insurrection. No armed neutrality on the part of Border Slave States, can deny it this right, nor prevent the North from invading the Cotton States in turn, should they invade it, without immediately involving themselves in a general war with the North. It would thus become a war of sections, and waged with destructive power. The passions of men would rage unrestricted, and the anti-slavery sentiment of the North—intensified by taunts, abuse and contumely, so long patiently borne—would suddenly

kindle into a blind and fearful fanaticism, (the most dangerous fanaticism too, that man is susceptible of,) and, bursting from its confines, it would sweep down upon the South with remorseless fury, and its watchword would be extermination to slavery. And in all human probability, its sword would never be sheathed until the institution was wiped out in blood. In her exposed and unprotected condition, and standing as she does, upon a system which would prove a great powder magazine in case of war, and her population so thinly spread over a vast territory, and with so few facilities of transportation, it is impossible the South should be able to contend against the giant power, resources, and rapid movements of the North."

## Family Miscellany.

For the Principia.

### DEDICATION FOR AN ALBUM.

"Album of Love"—go forth and find  
Some secret spring in every breast,  
Round which affection has entwined  
An influence sweet as heavenly rest.

The jewel of each heart obtain—  
That priceless treasure of the soul,  
And bind it here with golden chain,  
E'er pointing to Love's earnest goal.

For thee my spirit breathes a prayer,  
That Friendship on each page may shine,  
And Mary guide thro' earthly care  
To realms of glory all divine.

1861.

Frank J.

### READING.

The most important, and at the same time most easily available, means of general information is *reading*. It is the teeming press, which under the encouragement of free institutions, has attained to such unparalleled fecundity in this country, that contributes the principal incentives to the intellectual, moral, and social progress of mankind. By its means, all valuable acquisitions of the human mind, in all times and all countries, are made common property, to an extent only limited by the extent to which the habit of judicious reading is cultivated by the masses.

The substantial benefits, however, that may be derived from reading, must always necessarily be governed, in a great measure, by the observance or non-observance, on the part of the reader, of a discriminative and generally regulating mental discipline, in the selection of books and the proper digesting of their contents. He who would read indiscriminately whatever might come within his reach, would show himself as gluttonous and voracious in respect to the mind, as the indiscriminate devourer of all kinds of food that may come before him proves himself to be, as respects the physical appetite. He who immerses himself exclusively in works of fiction, the only effects of which are to amuse, to excite the imagination, and to inflame the passions, as greatly departs from the true course of mental alimentation as the habitual wine-bibber and drunkard departs from the physiological law. He who devours volume after volume, in the pursuit of some favorite study, without stopping to ponder and digest what he reads, or to verify or disprove its positions by facts in his own experience and observation, may be fitly compared to the man who habitually crams his stomach with indigestible food, which, so far from nourishing the system, is the cause of a perpetual derangement of its functions.

The healthy student—the profound student—is temperate in the use of Books. He may have a well-filled and well-selected library, but most of his books will be kept merely for occasional reference. He reads few books in course, and these he reads slowly, carefully, and deliberately, always assuring himself that he thoroughly understands what he reads, and fixes it sufficiently upon his memory to avail himself of it for use, in subsequent conversation, meditation, or application to the particular uses of life. Though the progress of such a man's studies may seemingly be slow, it will always be sure, and if he perseveres a sufficient length of time, he will most certainly become a truly learned man, whose learning will always be available for accurate and practical use, while the dabbler in books ad infinitum, who has the vaguest smattering of all things and an accurate knowledge of nothing, finds the practical advantages of his readings comparatively small.

Reading, however, should always be sufficiently diversified to bring all the faculties, from time to time, into play, and should never be prolonged on a single subject until the faculties reluctant, or become exhausted by fatigue. Nor

should one, in his readings, seek too exclusively the mere improvement of his intellect, to the neglect of that kind of literature that appeals distinctively to the affections; nor, *vice versa*, should one suffer himself to be absorbed too exclusively in the sentimental to the neglect of the intellectual. Both departments of the nature are necessary to the physical constitution of the complete and harmonious man, and both should thus receive equal cultivation. While, therefore, the historical, the philosophical, and the scientific departments of literature should receive prominent attention, as ministering to the formation and expansion of ideas, the moral, the religious, the poetical, and sentimental should receive a proportional regard as giving vitality to the whole mental nature.—*Life Illustrated*.

#### ANECDOTE OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

The following admirable trait in the character of the Queen may not be generally known. When Princess Victoria, she is said to have frequently amused herself by going *incognito*, in a carriage, to different shops, and derived great entertainment, when divested of the appendages attendant upon royalty, in observing as a passive spectator the infinite variety of incidents and occupations with which London abounds. Being one day at Rundell & Bridge's she observed, among many other objects that attracted attention, one that fixed it. This was a young and intelligent lady, who was most sedulously employed in looking over different gold chains for the neck, which were alternately presented to her for inspection. After she had admired several, she asked the price of one which seemed to have peculiarly struck her fancy. The price was named. It was more than she imagined it would have been.

"Could it not be afforded cheaper?"

"Impossible!"

The young lady seemed disconcerted, examined the chain again, took it up, and when she laid it down a second time, appeared to part from it with reluctance. However, at length she admitted the price was far too high, chose a much cheaper, which she ordered to be sent home, and went away. The young Princess Victoria, who had silently observed the different workings of the mind of the lady as displayed in her countenance, inquired who she was, and, upon receiving satisfactory information, ordered the firm to pack up the gold chain which had so attracted her attention, with the one she had purchased, and sent with a card, signifying that the Princess Victoria was so well pleased with observing that the young lady, who had been so much taken with the beauty and workmanship of the chain, had yet so much the command of her passions as not to suffer these to overcome her prudence, that she, therefore, in token of her approval, desired her to accept the chain which she so much admired, in the hope that she would always persevere in that laudable line of conduct upon which female happiness so much depended.

#### GARDENING FOR WOMEN.

There is nothing better for wives and daughters, physically, than to have the care of a garden—a flower pot, if nothing more. What is pleasanter than to spend a portion of every passing day in working among plants and watching the growth of shrubs, and trees, and plants, and to observe the opening of flowers, from week to week as the season advances? Then how much it adds to the enjoyment to know that your own hands have planted and tilled them, and have pruned and trained them—this is a pleasure that requires neither great riches nor profound knowledge. The humble cottage of the laboring poor, not less than their grounds, may be adorned with pet plants, which in due time will become redolent of rich perfume, not less than radiant with beauty; thus ministering to the love of the beautiful in nature.

The wife or daughter that loves home and would seek ever to make it the best place for husband and brother, is willing to forego some gossiping morning calls, for the sake of having leisure for the cultivation of plants, and shrubs and flowers. The good housewife is early among her plants and flowers, as is the husband at his place of business. They are both utilitarians, the one it may be in the abstract, and the other in the concrete, each as essential to the enjoyment of the other, as are the real and the ideal in human life. The lowest utilitarianism would labor only for the meat that perisheth. Those of higher and

more noble views, would labor with no less assiduity for the substantial things of life, but would in addition seek also those things which elevate and refine the mind and exalt the soul.

The advantages which women personally derive from stirring the soil and snuffing the morning air are freshness and beauty of cheek and brightness of eye, cheerfulness of temper, vigor of mind, and purity of heart. Consequently she is more cheerful and lovely as a daughter, more dignified and womanly as a sister, and more attractive and confiding as a wife.

Hence the fruits and products of garden culture, as they relate to woman, when viewed objectively, are but small, relatively, as compared with the benefits secured in regard to herself as the centre of social refinement and enjoyment, amid such a world as ours. A husband who revolves round such a centre can not but be a good neighbor, a useful citizen, a kind father, a loving and confiding companion. Do not, then, mothers and sisters, the latter wives in prospect, neglect the garden.

#### A HORSE GETTING HIMSELF SHOD.

A horse having been turned into a field by its owner, Mr. Joseph Lane, of Fascombe, in the parish of Ashelwoth, was missed therefrom the next morning, and the usual inquiries set afoot, as to what could have become of him. He had, it seems, been shod (all four,) a few days before, and as usual got pinched in a foot. Feeling, no doubt, a lively sense of proper shoeing, and desirous of relieving the cause of the pain, he contrived to unhang the gate of his pasture with his mouth and make the best of his way to the smithy, a distance of a mile and a half from Fascombe, waiting respectfully at the door till the bungling artist got up.—The smith relates that he found him there, at opening his shed, that the horse advanced to the forge, and held up his ailing foot, and that he himself upon examination, discovered the injury, took off the shoe and replaced it more carefully, which having been done, the sagacious creature set off at a merry pace homeward. Soon after, Mr. Lane's servant passed by the forge in quest of the animal, and upon inquiry received for answer—"Oh, he has been here and got shod, and has gone home again."—*Polo Advertiser*.

The horse knew what ailed him, and that the cause must be removed. Does the Government of the United States know as much?

"The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his masters crib; but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider!"

#### FORGIVENESS.

Little Nell Palmer was a sweet little girl of about five years of age, and every night she loved to kneel down by her mother's side to pray. One of the prayers she was in habit of saying was the "Lord's Prayer." One night, after being undressed, she knelt down as usual, and began to say: "Our Father, who art in heaven;" but when she got as far as "forgive us our debts as we forgive," she stopped short, and burst into tears.

"What is the matter, my child?" said the mother.

"O ma, I did not pray it all, and I can't pray it, and I mustn't pray it" she added.

"And why not, Nelly?"

"Because, ma, I have not forgiven Susan Flanders for spoiling my doll's face this morning."

"But I thought you had forgiven her, Nelly, when you saved the orange for her to-day from dinner."

"I thought so, too, ma; but you know I haven't seen her yet, and when I think of the great ink-spot all soaked in the wax, and think how wicked Susy looked, my heart feels real wicked too; and I'm afraid if she should look so again at me, I couldn't give her the orange or forgive her either."

"Not if you remember that it is just such as she that Christ told you to forgive?"

"O dear, ma, I don't know," said Nelly, still sobbing; "poor Dolly's face will never be clean again, and Susy needn't have done it; it would be easier to bear, if it had been an accident."

"Yes, I know, Nelly, and there would be less to forgive; but if you can do it now, it will be easier for you to forgive greater wrongs when you get older."

"Why, ma, what could be greater? Dolly's face is spoiled."

"It would be greater, when you are grown up, to have somebody put a great black spot on your character by some slander. It is done to somebody every day, Nelly, and you may not escape; and if you can not forgive a wrong to Dolly, will you be able to do better toward one against yourself?"

"But, ma, how can I make forgiveness when it won't come of itself into my heart?"

"You can pray Christ to send it, can't you?"

"Y-e-s," she answered slowly, "but I'd rather you would ask for me first—please do, won't you, ma?"

So the mother besought the grace of forgiveness for her little girl, who then prayed for herself, and to her mother's surprise, added also the Lord's Prayer. And she whispered as she rose up, "I wasn't afraid to say that then, ma; for I felt forgiveness."

#### HOW IT LOOKS AT A DISTANCE.

The following is an extract from a letter of Mrs. Kincaid, the wife of the well-known missionary, dated Proma, Burmah, Nov. 24, 1860, received by D. Brown of New-York.

"A few weeks since, a female of middle class came to me with her little daughter, about ten years old, and offered to sell her for twenty rupees (\$10). I told her that under the English Government no one dare sell or buy human beings. 'Yes; but you are not English,' she replied, 'and in your country they buy and sell old people and young children.' Fancy if you can the humiliating condition I was in. She then inquired if Jesus Christ's religion was against buying and selling people. 'Certainly,' I replied, just as it is against stealing, fornication and every wickedness." She said: "Do all the people in your country believe Jesus Christ's doctrine?" I said; "No; there are many who love the world too strongly to become the disciples of Christ." It seems amazing to me that such an enormity as chattel slavery can exist in America. In the Roman Empire the slave law soon became a dead letter, after the Gospel of Christ shed its benign light on the monstrous system."—*Tribune*.

Well did Mrs. Kincaid say that "all the people in America do not believe Christ's doctrine," and that they "love the world too well to become the disciples of Christ." And rightly did she find proof of this, in the fact that they do not regard chattel slavery to be sinful.

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